

The Korean Verb *ha* and Verb Complementation¹

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1. Introductory.

It may be said that the Korean verb 하² appearing in a sentence such as (1) means roughly the same thing as the English verb *do* appearing in the English equivalent of (1): *John does (or is doing) (his) homework*. Its meaning involves a certain action or activity; exactly what kind of action or activity is involved depends on what its object noun is.

(1) 존이 숙제를 한다.

The activity involved in (1) is 'doing homework.' Similarly, the action or activity of 'doing research' is involved in (2a), 'making a speech' in (2b), 'having a fight or fighting' in (2c), and 'doing a song or singing' in (2d).

(2) (a) ×가 연구를 한다.

(b) ×가 연설을 한다.

(c) ×가 싸움을 한다.

(d) ×가 노래를 한다.

But it is not immediately clear what 하 means in sentences such as (3) below.

(3) (a) 나는 그 여자를 좋아한다.

(b) 나는 그 여자를 싫어한다.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint its meaning at the present moment, I am not willing to

¹ This is a slightly revised version of Chapter 2 of my doctoral dissertation (1972). Korean data, which were phonemically transcribed along with English translations in the original dissertation, are given here in the traditional Korean writing system. The last section of the original Chapter which is concerned with double subject constructions is omitted here. Other differences are to be interpreted as corrections.

² This verb should be represented as *hay* if the principle of underlying representation in phonology were strictly observed. The verb is traditionally known as a 여 irregular verb since, unlike other regular verbs, it takes *y* before morphemes such as *어서*, *어라* and *었*. But if the underlying form of the verb is taken to be *hay*, there will be nothing irregular about the verb.

go along with the widely acknowledged view that *ha* is a semantically empty element of some sort;³ nor do I accept the traditional view that it is a kind of auxiliary verb.⁴ Instead I assert that the verb *ha* occurring in (3) as well as in (1) and (2) is not only syntactically but semantically a significant element and furthermore that it functions as a main verb rather than an auxiliary. Saying that *ha* is semantically vacuous seems to me to be an evasive attempt. We will see that the syntactic behavior of *ha* will not be clarified until its semantic property is revealed.

As a first approximation, let us compare sentences (4a) and (4b) with (3a) and (3b).

(4) (a) 나는 그 여자가 좋다.

(b) 나는 그 여자가 싫다.

Sentences (4a and b) would be assumed to be synonymous with (3a and b) respectively by those who claim that *ha* in (3) is a semantically empty element, since the main difference between the two sentences is seemingly nothing but the presence or absence of the verb *ha*.⁵ They sound indeed deceptively synonymous.

I will argue, however, that (3) and (4) are *not* synonymous. They are different in an important semantic respect. Note that the main verbs *좋* and *싫* in (4) are stative verbs while the verb phrases *좋아하* and *싫어하* are nonstative.⁶ Exactly for this reason, *좋* and *싫* with the present (or progressive) tense suffix *은* would be ungrammatical (i.e., *나는 그 여자가 좋은다 and *나는 그 여자가 싫은다), whereas *좋아하* and *싫어하* with the same suffix are well-formed as the sentences in (3) show.⁷ Sentences (3) and (4) cannot possibly be synonymous as long as the semantic distinction between stative and nonstative verbs is being maintained. They must be derived from different underlying structures.

³ For instance, J. Ree (1969:188) remarks in his dissertation "...the verb(alizer) *hata* cannot have any semantic function...To put it another way, *hata*...may be regarded as 'dummy' auxiliary verb (quite like the auxiliary *do* in English) whose function is, besides serving as supports, to make some syntactically necessary distinction such as tense, level of speech, aspect, etc..." Also, Lee(1970) is based on essentially the same view when he discusses what he calls 'verbalized adjectives' (e.g., 좋아하다. 싫어하다 etc.)

⁴ Cf. H.B. Choi (1965:379); also see Ree (1969: 101).

⁵ In fact, this is what H.B. Lee (1970) assumed throughout Section 2.1. He assumes that sentences like (3a) and (4a) are derived from one and the same underlying structure. Ree (1969: 115, 117) is of the same opinion. I consider this as a crucial mistake.

⁶ As for the stative-nonstative distinction, see G. Lakoff (1970).

⁷ For the same reason, the nonstative verbs *좋아하* and *싫어하* may occur in imperative sentences, but the stative verbs *좋* and *싫* may not. (정의를 좋아하고 불의를 싫어하라 vs. *정의가 좋고 불의가 싫어라) The ungrammaticality of the latter is due to the stativity of the main verbs *좋* and *싫*, but it is also related to the fact that only the first person pronoun can be the subject of a sentence like (4a and b). See below.

Yet this semantic difference does not provide a definite answer to the question of what the verb 하 occurring in sentences like (3a and b) means. Since the verb 하 in (1) and (2) is just nonstative as the 하 in (3), perhaps the meaning of 하 in (3) involves a certain action or activity roughly the same way as the verb 하 in (1) and (2) while no such action or activity is involved in (4). Keeping this point in mind, we will see if there is any more relevant and revealing semantic difference between the type of sentences in (3) and those in (4) which may eventually lead us to an answer to the question.

To facilitate this inquiry along with an attempt to investigate the underlying structures of the type of sentences under consideration, in the following section, we will concentrate on the behavior of such stative verbs.

2. Subjective Verbs.⁸

Subjective verbs are a class of stative verbs which have a unique semantic and syntactic characteristic: they occur in a double subject sentence construction (see below) and the first of the two subjects must be first person (singular).⁹ This characteristic sounds extremely unusual. It will become rather natural, however, when a semantic peculiarity of such verbs is taken into consideration. Let us first observe some example sentences. Each of the following sentences contains a subjective verb as its main verb: ((5a and b) are the same as (4a and b).)

- (5) (a) 나는 그 여자가 좋다.
- (b) 나는 그 여자가 싫다.
- (c) 나는 그 여자가 밋다.
- (d) 나는 그 여자가 그립다.
- (e) 나는 그 여자가 아쉽다.
- (f) 나는 그 여자가 무섭다(두렵다)
- (g) 나는 그 여자가 지겹다.

Notice that there are two subject nouns 나 and 그 여자 in each case. The first subject noun has subsequently been topicalized, thus taking the Topic Marker 는 rather than the Subject Marker 가.¹⁰ But this raises no problem to the analysis of subjective verbs in

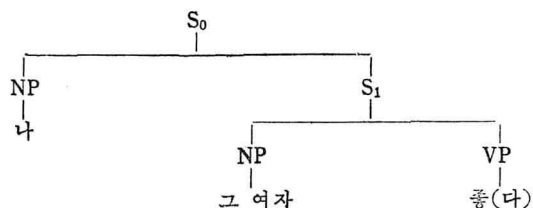
⁸ These verbs roughly correspond with those verbs which I. -S. Yang (1972:159) calls 'verbs of self-judgment'.

⁹ The first person plural pronoun can also be the first subject if it is used as 'inclusive.'

¹⁰ *Topicalization* is assumed to be a transformation by which a major element of a sentence receives the topic marker 은/는 to become the 'topic' of the sentence or its speaker. A topicalized element is optionally *preposed*. In the sentences in (5), *preposing* has been applied vacuously because the subject nouns have been topicalized.

question; the topicalization of the first subject noun is optional though it seems in general preferable. In any event, we refer to such sentences as those in (5) as double subject constructions for the reason that the verbs in the sentences always require two subject nouns in a quite unique manner.¹¹ That is, the first subject 나 in (5a), for example, is the subject of the whole sentence, while the second subject 그 여자가 is the subject of an embedded or 'subordinate' sentence 그 여자가 좋다 which in turn serves as the predicate of the whole sentence. I contend that the double subject construction is a special kind of complex sentence construction in which a sentence is embedded directly in the main sentence, functioning as its predicate. In sum, the deep structure of (5a) may be represented as follows:

PM1



Note that the embedded sentence S_1 is the predicate of the main sentence S_0 , each S having its own subject noun, i.e., 나 in S_0 and 그 여자가 in S_1 ; hence a double subject construction. (But since this kind of embedding device is entirely novel, the notion of embedding should be extended to accommodate the double subject construction in Korean.)

Next, note that the first subject is invariably the first person in every sentence in (5). No noun or pronoun other than the first person pronoun may fill the first subject position. See the following anomalous sentences:

- (6) * $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{너는} \\ \text{김 선생은} \\ \text{그 친구는} \\ \text{어머니는}^{12} \end{array} \right\} \text{ 그 여자가 좋다.}$

¹¹ As for double subject constructions, see my paper (1973:63-76) and Section 2.6 of my dissertation.

¹² Note that this sentence is anomalous only if it is spoken by a person who is not a mother: it is a perfectly natural sentence if a mother has said it to her child. In general, kinship terms such as 어머니, 아버지, 아저씨, 누나, etc. and certain titles such as 선생님 may be substitutable for the first person pronoun just in case the speaker is in reality one of them. For instance, when you are talking to your son you may say '아버지가 피곤하다' instead of (or in the same sense as) '내가 피곤하다'. But of course you may not say the former to mean the latter when you talk to a person with whom you have no parental relationship.

In short, we now can say that a sentence whose main verb is a subjective verb always appears in the form of double subject construction and furthermore that the first of the two subjects is necessarily the first person pronoun. This is a fact in the Korean language. We then ask a question: Why is it the case? Why is it that only the first person pronoun is allowed to occur in the first subject position? Where does the semantic peculiarity of the subjective verb come from? This is a difficult question, perhaps one of the questions that deal with a certain poorly understood phenomenon of human psychology. We venture to pursue the question.

It seems that the embedded sentence of each of the sentences in (5) describes what is happening in the speaker's mind (Cf. PM 1). In general, it seems to involve an emotional or psychological reaction to things and people; it expresses the speaker's purely subjective opinion about them. (E.g., 그 여자가 좋다. 그 여자가 싫다. 그 여자가 무섭다. 그 여자가 지겹다. etc.) Now recall that such a sentence conveying the speaker's purely subjective opinion has been embedded directly into a 'higher' sentence or the main sentence to function as its predicate in a double subject construction such as (5). (See PM 1) What, then, can be the subject of that higher sentence? Nothing but the speaker who feels so and so, namely, the first person pronoun because otherwise we would find ourselves in a strange world in which one knows and feels what others feel about things and people to the extent that he is able to express it freely and precisely. This is an impossible world, or at least it is not the world in which we live, for we have no ability to look into the other person's brain and to observe what is happening there. It would be inconceivable for the other person to express my own feelings at the present moment unless he and I were the same person (which might be possible in a mysterious or mystical world). It is only I, the speaker, who can say how I feel about things and people at the present moment. This appears to be the reason why the only possible first subject in the double subject constructions such as (5 a-g) in which the main verbs are the subjective verb is the first person (singular) pronoun. The anomaly of (6) is due to a violation of this constraint: each of the sentences is anomalous because a person other than the speaker or the experiencer is describing how the experiencer feels about "the woman" as if he were the experiencer himself.

However, we are certainly able to **report** the other person's feelings or, more correctly, how we thought he felt or what he told us about his feelings. Also, we are given the freedom to **conjecture** or **predict** how he feels about things and people or how you feel

about them. For these two reasons, a double subject construction with a non-first-person subject is possible only if either the Past Tense morpheme 았/였 or the Aspect morpheme 겠, which conveys the speaker's prediction or conjecture, occurs. Observe the following sentences:

(7) (a) 김 선생은 그 여자가 좋았다.

(b) 김 선생은 그 여자가 좋겠다.

(c) 너는 그 여자가 아쉽겠다.

Sentence (7a) is grammatical because of the Past Tense morpheme 았. By saying this sentence, **I**, the speaker, am telling (you) what I experienced concerning **Mr. Kim's** feeling about **the woman**. Nothing anomalous is involved in my behavior of this sort. Sentences (7b and c) are grammatical because of the Conjecture Aspect morpheme 겠. **I**, the speaker, am simply making a guess about **Mr. Kim's** feeling about **the woman** in the case of (7b) and **your** feeling about **the woman** in the case of (7c). There is nothing unusual in this kind of behavior and no anomaly is brought about. Thus the meaning of (7a) may be glossed as **I report (or am telling you) that Mr. Kim liked the woman** and the meanings of (7b and c) as **I guess that Mr. Kim likes the woman** and **I guess that you like the woman**, respectively.

Thus far in this section we have defined the special class of stative verbs called subjective verbs and discussed the source of their semantic peculiarity. Given the class of subjective verbs, we will call a sentence of which the main verb is a subjective verb a subjective verb sentence for the purpose of reference. In the following section, we return to our major issues: the meaning of the verb occurring in such sentences as those in (3) and the underlying structure of such a sentence.

3. The Meaning of the Verb 하.

Back in Section 1, we suspected in connection with the stative-nonstative distinction between (4) and (3) that (3) may involve a certain action or activity whereas (4) involves no such thing. Let us repeat sentences (3a) and (4a) here for the convenience of our discussion to follow.

(3a) 나는 그 여자를 좋아하다.

(4a) 나는 그 여자가 좋다.

We now know that (4a), but not (3a), is a subjective verb sentence. Precisely because

(3a) is not a subjective verb sentence, no constraint whatsoever is imposed on its subject: any noun, regardless of person, may be the subject of a sentence like (3a). Thus we may have the sentences in (8). (Compare these sentences with those in (6).)

$$(8) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{너는} \\ \text{김 선생은} \\ \text{그 친구는} \\ \text{어머니는} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \text{ 그 여자를 좋아한다.}$$

It seems clear that (3a), not being a subjective verb sentence, has no bearing on the speaker's subjective opinion. Rather it seems to be a sentence which the speaker may use to report what the subject noun **does** with the object noun. That is, some sort of act, say, an act of 'liking', appears to be involved in (3a), but not in (4a). In fact, I claim that this is the crucial difference between the two sentences. Suppose that you—a native Korean speaker—are looking at a bunch of photographs of women and you find one particular woman especially attractive. In this situation, you would be very likely to say (4a)¹³ to express your spontaneous reaction to the woman or the picture of the woman, but not (3a), because all you can say naturally is perhaps how you feel about the woman at the present moment. Suppose, on the other hand, that while looking at the pictures, you happen to find the picture of woman whom you have liked all along. And if you wish to express or confess how you feel about her to your audience, you would be likely to say (3a), but not (4a). To put this meaning difference between (3a) and (4a) in logical terms, we may say that (3a) entails (4a) but the converse is not necessarily true. In other words, if you have said (3a), then you imply that (4a) is also true. If you have said (4a), however, you do not necessarily imply that (3a) is also true. This is natural since an act involving thing or people in general presupposes a process of subjective evaluation of them on the part of the actor or speaker if the act is a conscious human behavior, but such an act does not always follow from such a process: even if you find a thing or a person beautiful or ugly, you may or may not **do** something about it or her (or him). (Cf. 나는 그 여자가 좋지만, 좋아하지는 않는다 vs. ?? 나는 그 여자를 좋아하지만, 좋지는 않다.)

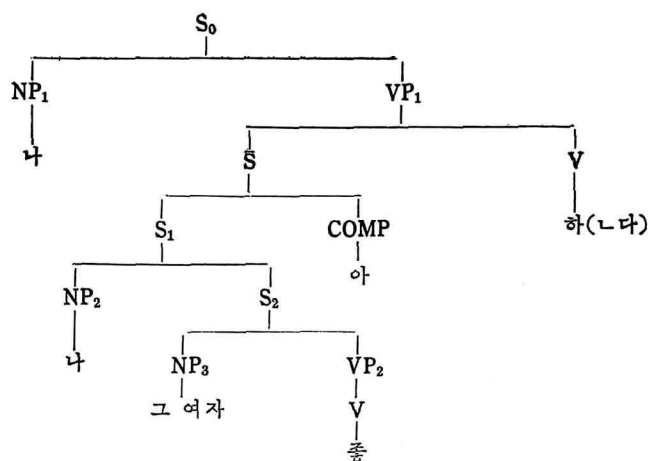
What has become clear is that a certain act, which is absent in (4a), is involved in (3a). Thus we have confirmed that which we suspected in Section 1: a sentence like

¹³ With a change of 이 여자 from 그 여자, of course.

(3a) contains a semantic property 'action.' The next important question is: Where does the semantic property come from?

We may answer quite confidently that it comes directly from the verb *하* which occurs in (3a); there seems to be no other candidate for the source of the meaning in the sentence. Now recall that the meaning of the verb *하* in sentences like (1) and (2) (cf. p. 46) involves a certain action or activity, which is certainly a part of the meaning of a nonstative verb. It follows that we are assuming that the *하* in (3a) is semantically the same thing as the *하* in (1) and (2) in the sense that both are nonstative and accordingly involve a certain act. I maintain that this is indeed the case. It seems obvious that the view that the verb *하* in (3a) is a semantically empty element is incorrect. If it is correct, what could be responsible for the semantic property 'action' in (3a) which is absent in (4a)? There would be no way of accounting for the meaning if the verb *하* were semantically empty. The main syntactic difference between (3a) and (4a) is the presence and absence of the verb *하*. If we assume that the verb *하* in (3a) has the same meaning as the *하* in (1) and (2) instead of meaning nothing, we can naturally explain the meaning 'action' and thereby the semantic difference between (3a) and (4a). The verb *하* must be generated in the deep structure of (3a) instead of being introduced by transformation. There should be no place for it, on the other hand, in the deep structure of (4a). (See PM 1.) Also, the semantic fact that (3a) entails (4a) but not vice versa has to be reflected in the deep structure of (3a). It may be represented by having (4a) embedded in (3a). Taking into consideration all the facts discussed so far, I propose PM 2 as the deep structure of (3a).

PM2



Note that \bar{v} is the main verb, being complemented by the embedded S_1 which is the same as the underlying structure of sentence (4a) represented by PM 1. PM 2 shows that a sentence like (3a) is an instance of *verb phrase complementation* in Rosenbaum's terms (1967). But the deep structure configuration differs from what it would be strictly according to Rosenbaum in one important respect. By generating the complementizer in deep structure rather than introducing it by transformation, I adopt Bresnan's theory of complementation (1970:297-321). Bresnan has convincingly argued that complementizers are far from semantically empty and that the choice of complementizers is a matter of sub-categorization rather than of transformation since it largely depends on individual lexical items. She calls this new approach the 'phrase-structure hypothesis' as opposed to the 'transformational hypothesis' proposed by Rosenbaum and many others. The phrase structure hypothesis will be seen to be supported as our discussion proceeds. One particular argument for this view will be presented in Section 5.

Ignoring features which are not at issue, four transformations are needed in order for PM 2 to reach its surface structure: a Complementizer Placement, an Equi-NP Deletion, a NP Raising and a Verb Raising. By the Complementizer Placement the complementizer will be lowered to be attached to the V of S_2 as its daughter. By the Equi-NP Deletion NP_2 will be deleted under the identity condition. By the NP Raising NP_3 will move up to the direct object position of S_0 . Finally, the Verb Raising, which is a node adjustment transformation so to speak, moves the V dominated by VP_2 up to a newly created V node between VP_1 and V . (This operation is known as a 'Chomsky-adjunction' convention.) In addition, the convention of tree-pruning is assumed to be applied so that all superfluous S nodes and dangling nodes with no lexical items may be erased.

The four transformational rules may be formalized as follows:

Complementizer Placement (OBL)

$X [Y V]_S \text{ COMP } Z$

1 2 3 4 5 \Rightarrow

1, 2, 3+4, ϕ 5

Equi-NP Deletion (OBL)

$X NP_1 [NP_2 Y]_S Z$

1 2 3 4 5 \Rightarrow

1 2 ϕ 4 5

Condition: NP_1 and NP_2 are coreferential and morphologically identical.

NP Raising (OBL)

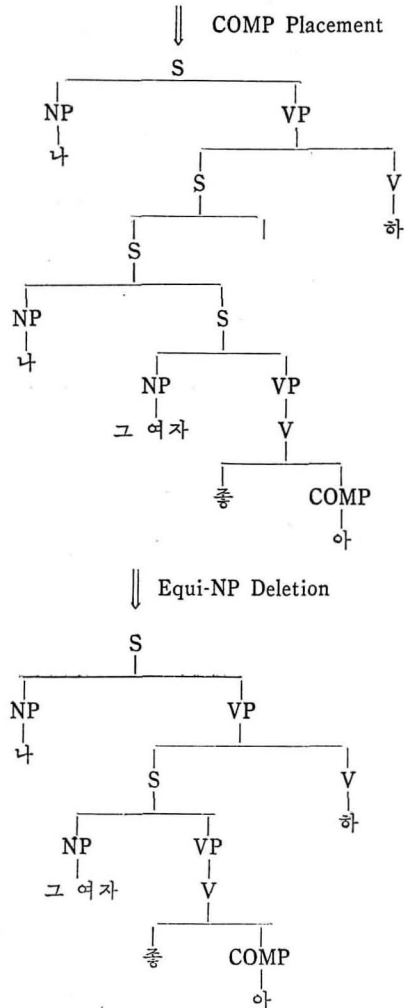
 $X [Y \text{ NP } Z]_S W$ 1 2 3 4 5 \Rightarrow 1, 3+2, ϕ , 4, 5

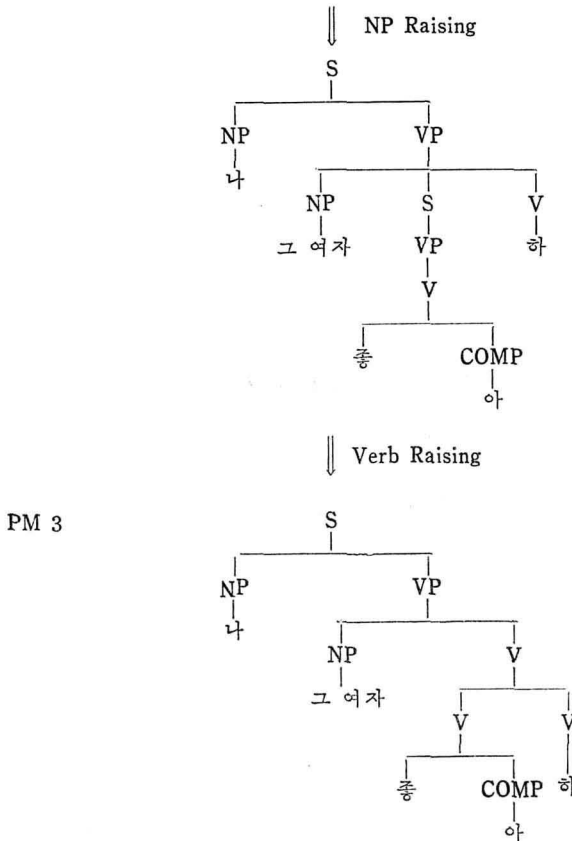
Verb Raising (OBL)

 $X[Y \text{ V } Z]_{VP} W$ 1 2 3 4 5 \Rightarrow 1, 2, ϕ , 3#4, 5

The derivational processes from PM 2 to PM 3, which is roughly the surface structure except for the Subject and Object Markers, are shown below.

PM 2





The surface structure will eventually be obtained by assigning appropriate markers to NP's by the Subject and Object Markers insertion transformations.¹⁴

4. A Surface Structure Constraint.

There is one condition to be met in the underlying structure of (3a) PM 1: NP₁ must be identical with NP₂. This constraint is necessary because otherwise such ungrammatical sentences as (9) could be derived.

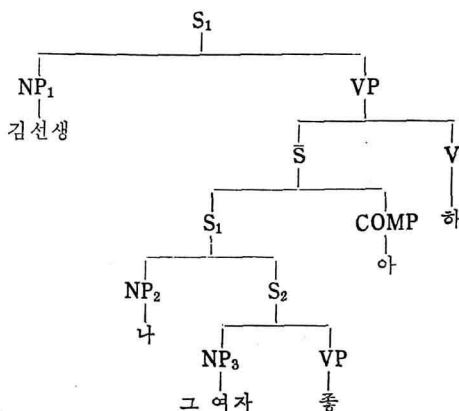
$$(9) * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{김 선생은} \\ \text{너는} \\ \text{우리는} \\ \text{ect.} \end{array} \right\} \text{ 그 여자를 내가 좋아한다.}$$

Let us refer to this constraint as Subject Identity Condition. Without this condition, PM

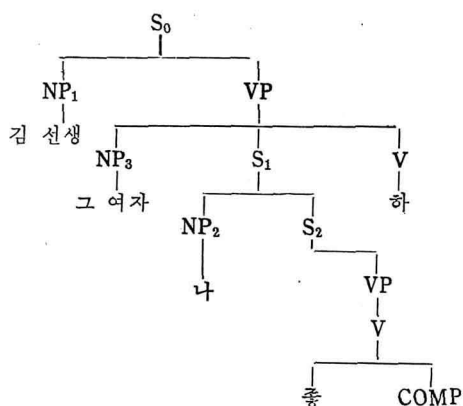
¹⁴ See Chapter 5 of my dissertation, for the treatment of the Sentence Ending insertion.

4 could be generated as the deep structure of the first ungrammatical sentence in (9). Then the Complementizer Placement and NP Raising could apply to it, but not the Equi-NP Deletion, the result being PM 5.

PM 4

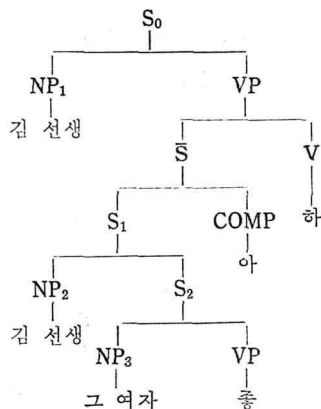


PM 5



Since NP₂ is not identical with NP₁ in PM 4, the Equi-NP Deletion cannot apply, which is the source of the ungrammaticality of sentence (9) or of the ill-formedness of PM 4. Its well-formed counterpart would be a phrase marker in which NP₂ is 김 선생, thus meeting the Subject Identity Condition; namely, PM 6 below.

PM 6



From PM 6 is derived sentence (10), which is the same as the first of (8).

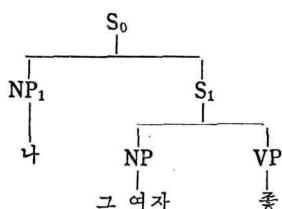
(10) 김 선생은 그 여자를 좋아한다.

How can we prevent such sentences as those in (9) from being generated? What is the device that allows the generation of PM 6 while rejecting PM 4?

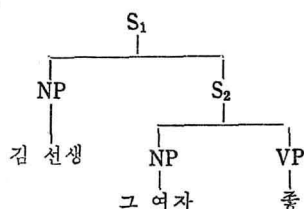
We may attempt to handle this problem by appealing to the filtering function of transformation. The transformational component of a generative grammar plays the role of a 'filter' that is capable of testing whether a given phrase-marker is qualified as an underlying structure of a well-formed surface structure. Chomsky (1965:138) gives a definition of the notion of underlying structure in terms of the filtering role of transformation: "a generalized phrase-marker M_D is the deep structure underlying the sentence S , with the surface structure M_S , just in case the transformational rules generate M_S from M_D ." In other words, a given phrase-marker M_D is not the deep structure of a sentence if (any of) the transformational rules that have to be applied in the process of derivation is inapplicable because the condition imposed on the transformation is not met in M_D ; hence M_D is filtered out as an ill-formed deep structure. It has been pointed out that the four transformations must be applied in the derivation of a sentence like (3a) and also that the source of the ungrammaticality of (9) is the inapplicability of the Equi-NP Deletion transformation. We may now say that PM4 is an ill-formed structure (i.e., it is to be filtered out) because the Equi-NP Deletion, which is obligatory, cannot apply due to a violation of the Subject Identity Condition. Thus it does not seem particularly difficult to block the generation of PM 4 in this manner. The difficult problem arises in connection with the generation of PM 6: How is PM 6 permitted to be generated? How can the embedded sentence S_1 be generated? Notice that S_1 in isolation would be ungrammatical

since its main verb is a subjective verb which permits nothing but the first person pronoun as its subject; the subject noun of S_1 in question is not first person. Let us separate S_1 from PM 6 to contrast it with PM 1, which is reproduced below as PM 7. As we know, PM 7 underlies the grammatical sentence (4a) (나는 그 여자가 좋다), but PM 8 is an ill-formed structure which **would** underlie an ungrammatical sentence such as one of the sentences in (6) (*김 선생은 그 여자가 좋다). Nonetheless, sentence (10) or PM 6 into which PM 8 has been embedded is well-formed. Hence what we need is a device by which the generation of PM 8 is permitted if it occurs as an embedded sentence on the one hand and is blocked if it occurs in isolation or as an independent sentence on the other hand.

PM 7



PM 8



We realize at this point that the filtering function is of no avail since there is no transformation to apply to PM 7 or PM 8 except for the Subject and Object Markers insertion transformations and the Sentence Ending insertion transformation. In this regard, PM 7 (or PM 8) acts like a simple sentence structure rather than a complex sentence though it is a complex sentence structure in the sense that it has an embedded sentence. Kuroda argues, in his article "Attachment Transformations" (Reibel and Schane 1969: 331-351), that the filtering role of transformation may be exercised in complex sentences, not in simple sentences. In a deep structure underlying a simple sentence (including PM 7 or PM 8), we can find no context in which the application of a transformation is blocked so that the deep structure may be filtered out, because there is no such transformation to be applied in the first place.

Alternatively, one might suggest a deep-structural constraint by strict-subcategorizing subjective verbs such that they may have only the first person (singular) pronoun as their subject.¹⁵ However, this proposal is valid only to the extent that such a strict subcategorization permits PM 7 while rejecting PM 8. But the problem is that it does not only reject PM 8, but also wipes out even the possibility to generate PM 6 since the embedded sentence S_1 of PM 6 (i.e., PM 8) has already been rejected. The proposal cannot be

¹⁵ For strict subcategorization features, see Chomsky (1965) Chapter 2.

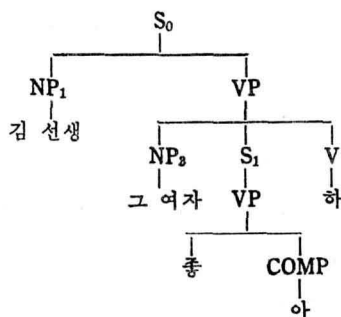
accepted for this reason.

Thus we see that neither the transformational component nor the base component can provide the device by which PM 8 is permitted to be generated if it is embedded while it is blocked if it is an independent sentence. It seems to follow that there is only one more possibility for stating the constraint; the fact that subjective verbs take only the first person subject in subjective verb sentences must be a Surface Structure (or Out-put) Constraint.¹⁶ Thus, I propose that the following surface structure constraint should be incorporated in Korean grammar:

(11) The subject noun of a subjective verb sentence is first person (singular).

Given Surface Structure Constraint (11), we may now say that deep structures such as PM 7 and PM 8 may be freely generated and subsequently PM 8 will be discarded as ungrammatical since it fails to meet Surface Structure Constraint (11) while PM 7 will be filtered in, so to speak, since it does meet (11). On the other hand, Surface Structure Constraint (11) has no effect on a deep structure like PM 6 because (11) is not applicable to the surface structure derived from PM 6. Since a surface structure constraint is to be checked only after all relevant transformations have been applied, an embedded sentence is in general exempted from it. Hence S_1 of PM 6, which would be filtered out if it occurred in isolation, remains intact. Observe PM 9, roughly the surface structure derived from PM 6.

PM 9



Surface structure PM 9 is no longer a structure which is subject to Surface Structure Constraint (11); deep structure PM 6 has undergone such changes that (11) has nothing to do with it. Above all, sentence (10) derived from PM 9 is not a subjective verb sentence.

¹⁶ The term 'surface structure constraint' is due to D. Perlmutter (1968).

5. Other Instances of Verb Complementation.

In order to investigate the meaning of the verb *하* which occurs in sentences like those in (3) (i.e., 나는 그 여자를 좋아한다) and (10) (김 선생은 그 여자를 좋아한다), we have thus far discussed those sentences in contrast with sentences like those in (5) (i.e., 나는 그 여자가 좋다) which we call subjective verb sentences and have shown that they are semantically different and accordingly that they are derived from different deep structures and most importantly that the verb *하* is responsible for the meaning difference. Furthermore, we have shown that those sentences in (3) are instances of verb complementation. That is, the verb occurring in those sentences is a verb *하* which requires a sentential complement. In this section, we discuss some more instances of verb complementation, whereby it will be seen that verb complementation is an extremely common phenomenon in Korean.

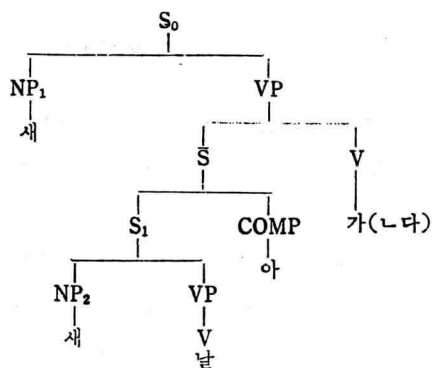
5.1. Complementizer *어/아*.

Consider the following sentences:

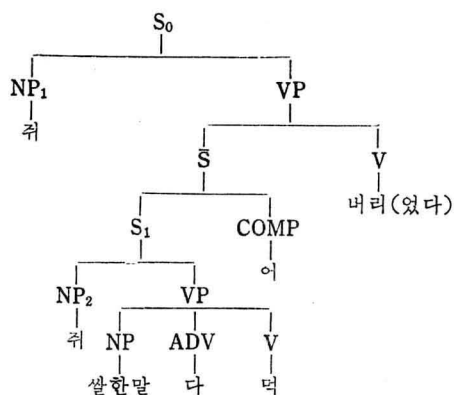
- (12) (a) 새가 날아 간다.
 (b) 개가 뛰어 온다.
 (c) 산이 우뚝 솟아 있다.
 (d) 우리가 그 술을 마시어 보겠다.
 (e) 쥐가 쌀 한 말을 다 먹어 버렸다.

The morpheme *어/아* which occurs regularly before the main verb of each sentence looks very much like the complementizer which occurs in sentences like (3) and (10). The sentence construction of each of the above sentences looks quite similar to that of the latter. I do maintain that the sentences in (12) are instances of verb complementation. So, for example, we may give the deep structure representations PM 10 and PM 11 to sentences (12a and e), respectively.

PM 10

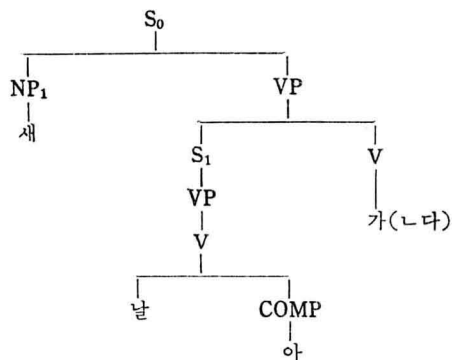


PM 11

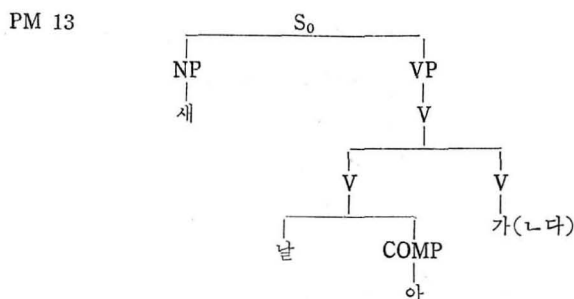


Compare these phrase-marker with PM 2 or PM 6. Similarities between them are obvious. The only difference lies in the structure of the complement sentence: the complement sentences of the latter are double subject constructions while those of the former are not. Needless to say, transformational rules to apply in both cases will also be similar. After the complementizer has been adjoined to the V of S₁ and NP₂ has been deleted by the Equi-NP Deletion, PM 10 will have been changed into PM 12.

PM 12



The V Raising will change PM 12 into PM 13 which is roughly the surface structure of (12a).



Similarly in the case of PM 11, after the applications of the Complementizer Placement and the Equi-NP Deletion, it will become a similar structure to PM 12 except for the object NP in S_1 (ignoring ADV). The NP Raising does not apply because the NP in question is already in the direct object position. Note in passing that the NP Raising did not apply to PM 10 because there was no NP in S_1 after NP_2 had been deleted. Incidentally, the only difference in transformational history between the sentences in (12) and sentences (3) and (10) is whether or not the NP Raising is applied: its application is obligatory in the case of the latter while it is not applied in the case of the former. Finally, it is worth noting that the Subject Identity Condition is consistently met in both cases. If this constraint is not met, i.e., if the subject NP of a sentence is not identical with the subject noun of its embedded sentence where the embedded sentence is a verb complement, the sentence is always ungrammatical. Observe the following ungrammatical sentences all of which fail to meet the Subject Identity Condition (Compare them with (9)).

- (13) (a) *새가 비행기가 날아 간다.
 (b) *개가 아이가 뛰어 온다.
 (c) *산이 전물이 우뚝 솟아 있다.

5.2 Complementizer 게

There are two types of causative constructions in Korean as illustrated by (14) and (15).

- (14) 순이가 얼음을 녹인다.
 (15) 순이가 얼음을 녹게 한다.

Sentence (14) shows that the causative verb from 녹이 is composed of the verb stem 녹 plus the causative suffix 이 (in the sense of surface structure). This is an extremely

productive process in Korean; e.g., 먹이다, 보이다. 죽이다. etc. Sentence (15) shows quite a different type of causative construction, in which the familiar verb 하 appears. Let us call the former type of causative construction 이 *causative* and the latter type 하 *causative*. We are mainly concerned about 하 causative constructions in this subsection. We attempt to show that the 하 which occurs in a 하 causative construction is semantically the same as the verb 하 we have discussed and that the morpheme 게 which co-occurs with the 하 is a complementizer. In short, we will argue that (15) is an instance of verb complementation.

First, let us note that the morpheme 게, which has been called an adverbializing suffix (Choi 1965:274), is not limited to 하 causative constructions; it also occurs, among others, in sentences such as (16a-c) in which the verb 되 is the main verb.

(16) (a) 순이가 김선생을 만나게 되었다.

(b) 아이들이 영리하게 되었다.

(c) 얼음이 저절로 녹게 되었다.

When we note the position in which occurs 게 in each of the above sentences and certain common meanings which seem to be involved in them, we suspect that the verb 게 is a kind of verb that requires a sentential complement. If this is indeed the case, the 게 must be a complementizer. To examine this possibility, we need to take a closer look at the meaning of (16). Take (16a), for example. Clearly, this sentence is a statement *about* 순이. Also the statement contains the information that there is an event, "Suni met Mr. Kim." But this much meaning may be taken care of by what remains in (16a) after 게되 has been deleted: i.e.,

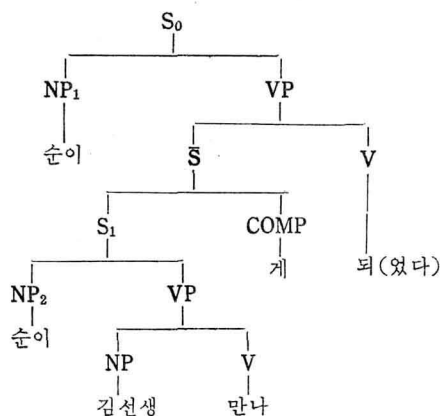
(17) 순이가 김 선생님을 만났다.

Therefore, there must be something more in the meaning of (16a) than whatever is meant by (17). We may, then, say that the *something more*, whatever it may be, is due to 게되 especially 되, since it may be assumed to be the main verb of the sentence. Suppose that 되 is the main verb. What, then, is the subject noun? There seem to be two candidates for it: (1) 순이가 may be the subject; or (2) alternatively the whole thing preceding the verb 되 may be the subject. I choose the first alternative for a reason which will be given shortly. (See p.58) It follows that it may be assumed that 순이가...게 되었다. is the main sentence and 순이가 김 선생님을 만나게 is the embedded sentence. If this is true, we can say that the main sentence 순이가...게 되었다 is responsible for the meaning which is not contained in (17). The main sentence alone would mean something like

'Suni became involved in a certain situation...' or 'It turned out to be the case that...' Needless to say, the main sentence alone cannot constitute a (meaningful and complete) sentence; hence the need of a (sentential) complement. The embedded sentence will, then, be able to serve as the complement. Thus the meaning of (16a) maybe paraphrased by a quasi-sentence such as 'Suni became involved in a certain situation such that she met Mr. Kim'.

It seems to become clear from its meaning that (16a) is an instance of verb complementation, i.e., that the main verb *되* is a kind of verb which requires a sentential complement and the complement is *게*. We may represent the underlying structure of (16a) as PM 14.

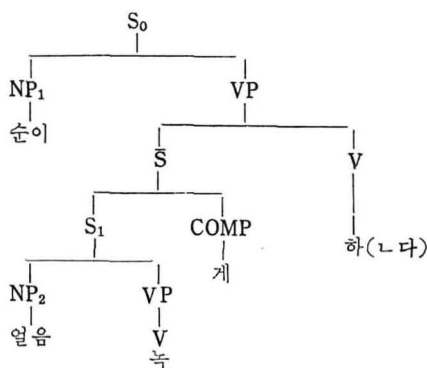
PM 14



The deep structure configuration of PM 14 is shown to be similar to those of PM 10 and PM 11 discussed in the previous subsection. In particular, the subjects identity constraint is met in PM 14. The transformational rules needed in the previous cases are applicable in exactly the same way. The only difference will be that the complementizer is *게* in PM 14 and *어/아* in PM 10 and PM 11. This difference is conditioned by lexical items. That is, a verb like *되* requires *게* whereas verbs like those in 5.1 and *하* require *어/아*. Thus the choice of complementizers is a matter of sub-categorization. If it is a matter of transformation and so complementizers are introduced by a transformation, a condition would have to be imposed on the transformation so that different complementizers might be introduced depending on what the main verbs in question are. Such a redundant condition is avoided in the phrase-structure hypothesis. If the choice of an element is determined solely by co-occurring lexical items as the other co-occurring lexical items are generated, why should it be introduced later?

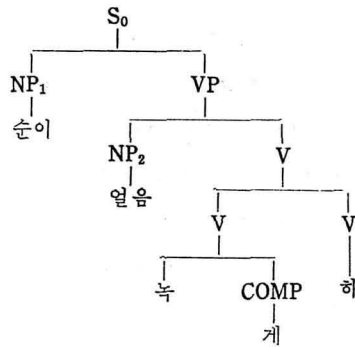
In any event, it has become quite clear that the *게* appearing in the sentences in (16) is a verb complementizer. We now return to sentence (15) in which *게* *하* acts very much like *게* *되* in (16). It seems to me that it would miss a generalization to argue that the *게* in (15) is different from the *게* in (16). There seems to be no reason to assume the difference. It is natural enough to say that the *게* in (15) is also a verb complementizer and the verb *하* is as usual the kind of verb which requires a sentential complement, its meaning being something like 'to cause something or somebody to do something to do undergo a certain process, to make a cause such that...or to make a motivation in such a way that...', which indicates that a sentence whose main verb is this *하* needs to be complemented. Above all, it is obvious that the meaning of the verb *하* in *하* causative constructions such as (15) involves a certain act. It is in this sense that it may be assumed to be semantically the same as the verb *하* discussed in the early sections. Thus the main sentence of *순이가...한다* (15) would mean 'Suni does (or is doing) a certain act such that Suni makes (or is making) a cause so that and...' its embedded sentence (i.e., the sentential complement) would be *얼음이 녹*. Then the meaning of the whole sentence may be paraphrased by a quasi-sentence like: 'Suni does (or is doing) a cause so that the ice may melt.' Its deep structure may be represented as follows:

PM 15



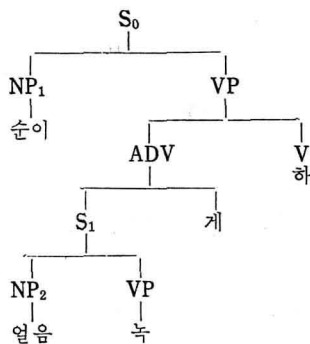
In the S_1 cycle, nothing would happen. In the S_0 cycle the Complementizer Placement would attach *게* to the V node of S_1 as its daughter and both the NP Raising and the Verb Raising are also applicable: the former would move NP_2 up to the direct object position in S_0 and the latter would Chomsky-adjoin the V of S_1 to the main V. The application of these transformations would result in PM 16.

PM 16



There remains a problem in PM 15. The condition that NP₁ (the subject noun of the main sentence) be identical with NP₂ (the subject noun of the embedded sentence) in all the other cases of verb complementation has been violated in PM 15. For this reason, one might argue that a sentence like (15) is not an instance of verb complementation, rejecting PM 15. That is, one might instead suggest that S₁ in PM 15 should be a kind of *Manner Adverbial* subordinate sentence rather than a verb complement, 게 being an adverbial morpheme rather than a complementizer. The deep structure of sentence (15) would be represented as PM 17 according to this view.

PM 17



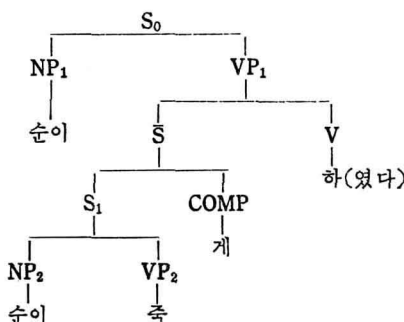
PM 17 does not seem to be entirely without foundation. There may be even some sense in which PM17 is preferable to PM15. Nonetheless, I choose PM15 because of the structural parallelism between the ㅅ하 causative and ㅇ하 causative construction which will be discussed shortly (In choosing PM 15, however, I do not reject PM 17 altogether; I leave its possibility open). We shall see that there is little sense in which it may be assumed that a ㅇ하 causative construction also contains an adverbial subordinate sentence and more importantly that the deep structures of the ㅅ하 causative and the ㅇ하 causative

sentence are precisely of the same configuration, the only difference lying in the lexical items: the main verb of the former is *하* and that of the latter *이*.

Accepting PM 15 as the correct deep structure of (15) is admitting that it is a linguistic fact that a causative construction is exempted from the subject identity constraint. If this is granted, we may be able to incorporate this fact in the base component in the following way: the complementizer *이* is inserted to the deep structure of a sentence whose main verb is *하* with a sentential complement if the subject identity condition is met in the deep structure and the sentential complement is of the form of double subject construction, while the complementizer *게* is inserted if the subject identity condition is not met or if the complement sentence is not of the form of double subject construction even if the condition is met. The condition concerning the double subject construction is needed to permit the derivation of an instance of reflexivization as illustrated by PM 18, the deep structure of sentence (18) below.

(18) 순이가 자기 자신을 죽게 했다.

PM 18



The complementizer *게* has been inserted since *S*₁—the complement sentence—is not a double subject construction although the Subject Identity Condition is met. After the NP Raising lifts *NP*₂ to *VP*₁, so that both *NP*₁ and *NP*₂ are under the same sentence, *S*₀, and then a Reflexivization will apply to reflexivize *NP*₂.

Now we consider the *이* causative construction. Let us point out from the outset that the two kinds of causative constructions are not synonymous. The difference may seem subtle, but is clearly there. The difference between the two is whether the subject noun is committed to the 'process-action' expressed by the causative verb *directly* or *indirectly*. Returning to sentences (14) and (15), we can observe that the subject of (14), an *이* causative sentence, is unequivocally the *agent* of the process-action 'melting' while the subject of (15), a *하* causative sentence, is not clearly the agent. In the latter case, a

certain 'mediator' who is actually responsible for carrying out the subject's intention is understood to exist. Put it differently, the subject Suni's commitment to the process-action *melting* is indirect in (15), while it is straightforwardly direct in (14). Although she initiates the melting of the ice or makes a cause of the melting, whatever it might be, she does not commit herself directly to the activity in the case of (15). But in the case of (14), there is no doubt about Suni's direct commitment to the melting of the ice.

To make the point somewhat clearer, let us take, another example: the My Lai incident. Suppose there is an American, say, Lt. Calley's lawyer, who claims that the killing of the innocent Vietnamese at My Lai is ultimately the president's crime or the American people's as a whole, but not Lt. Calley's alone because the one who assumes a fundamental responsibility for the Vietnam War is the Commander-in-Chief, i.e., the President, or the American society itself and that if Lt. Calley is guilty, then the President should also be guilty together with the American society. In this (hypothetical) situation, he (Calley's lawyer) could say (19a), but not (19b).

(19) (a) 대통령이 월남 양민은 죽게 했다.

(b) 대통령이 월남 양민을 죽이었다.

(19b) does not fit into the context simply because the President did not participate in the shooting. Hence (19b) is a false statement. Sentence (19a) may not be false, however, because it is truthfully presupposed that the President did not engage himself in the killing of the innocent Vietnamese people. On the other hand, if the 'President' is replaced by 'Calley' in both sentences as in (20) below

(20) (a) 캘리가 월남 양민을 죽게 했다.

(b) 캘리가 월남 양민을 죽이었다.

Then, (20a), a 하 causative sentence, does not exactly fit into the context because Calley did in fact participate in the shooting, killing several people. But (20a) would be a possible assertion of a person who claims that Calley did not even participate in the actual shooting. Let us take another example to illustrate the difference more clearly. The following pairs of sentences may serve the purpose:

(21) (a)? 미군이 월남 사람을 엠 16으로 죽게 했다.

(b) 미군이 월남 사람을 엠 16으로 죽이었다.

(22) (a) 미국이 월남 사람들을 임피리얼리즘으로 죽게 했다.

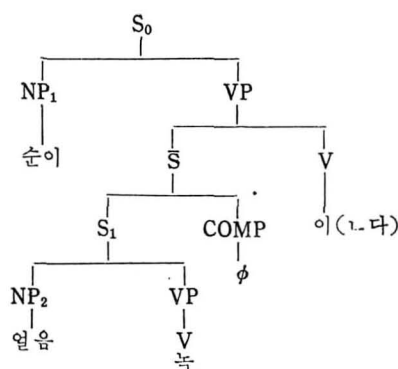
(b)?? 미국이 월남 사람들을 임피리얼리즘으로 죽이었다.

The killing instrument, i.e., the M-16 rifle, fits well in (21b), which is a 이 causative

sentence in which the subject is directly committed to the process-action in question, but it does not fit in (21a), which is a ㅎ -causative sentence which requires the subject's indirect commitment. On the other hand, since American imperialism could not be a killing instrument, it fits in (22a), but not in (22b).

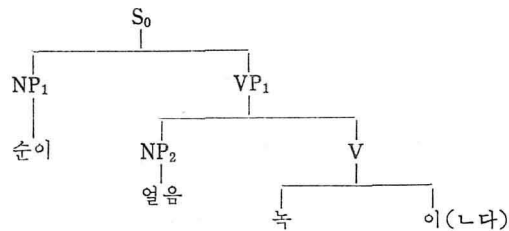
It has become certain that ㅎ -causative sentences involve an indirect commitment whereas ㅇ -causative sentences involve a direct commitment. Obviously, ㅇ -causative and ㅎ -causative sentences are different in meaning. We may now ask where the difference comes from. If it may be assumed that the morpheme ㅇ in the ㅇ -causative construction is the main verb as in a sentence like (14) as the ㅎ is in (15) despite the traditional view that it is a suffix, it may be that the meaning difference between (14), a ㅇ -causative, and (15), a ㅎ -causative, comes directly from that lexical difference. That is, we may say that the meaning of direct commitment is due to the causative verb ㅇ and the meaning of indirect commitment is due to the verb ㅎ . If this is correct, the deep structure of (14) would be different from that of (15), i.e., PM 15, only in that ㅎ appears as its main verb in PM 15 while ㅇ appears in the deep structure of (14). Thus we may represent the deep structure of sentence (14) as PM 19.

PM 19



The Subject Identity Condition is not met in PM 19 as in PM 15, but the Complementizer 게 may not be inserted to the COMP in this case since the verb is not ㅎ . The causative ㅇ does not require a complementizer. The node COMP, dominating no lexical item, will be pruned. The NP Raising and the Verb Raising, however, are applicable. If they apply, they will derive PM 20.

PM 20



We said earlier that there were two alternative views concerning the deep structure subject of (16a): whether the subject is 'Suni' or '순이가 김선생을 만나.' The question is equivalent to the question of whether 게 in (16a) is a verb complementizer or a subject noun complementizer. We have chosen the first alternation. The reason for the choice is that subordinate sentences preceding 게 in such sentences typically occupy an adverb position. To observe that fact, replace the clauses preceding 게 in (16a, b and c) by an adverb, say, 잘. All the replacements will result in well-formed sentences in which 잘 functions, of course, as an ordinary adverb (i.e., 순이가 잘 되었다 will be resulted from (16a) by the replacement and 열음이 잘 되었다 from (16c).). The strategy on which we depend is that if a subordinate clause functions like an adverb and the main verb which the subordinate clause modifies is incomplete in the sense that it requires a complement obligatorily, then the subordinate clause is taken to be a verb complement. After all, an adverb and a verb complement are quite similar in function: both modify a verb.

5.3. Complementizer 고.

The complementizer 고 occurs in the following type of sentences:

(23) (a) 김 선생이 책을 보고 있다.

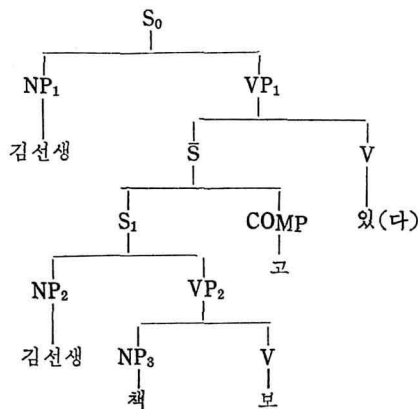
(b) 김 선생이 빨간 넥타이를 매고 있다.

(24) (a) 나는 이 책을 보고 싶다.

(b) 나는 노란 넥타이를 매고 싶다.

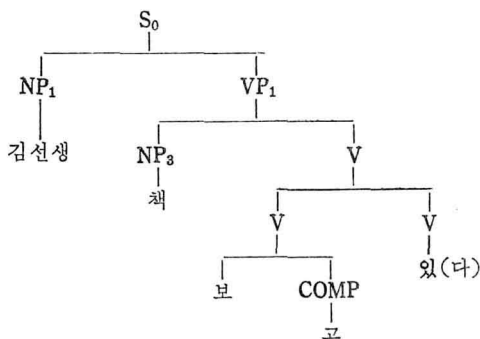
The sentences in (23) show examples of Progressive Aspect. They are the typical kind of Progressive Aspect sentence pattern, in which the verb 있 is the main verb and the main verb is complemented by an embedded sentence. The complementizer, in this case, is 고. The subject identity condition is as usual met. The meaning of (23a), for example, may be paraphrased by such a quasi-sentence as 'Mr. Kim is in a situation in which he reads a book at the present time.' Its deep structure may be represented as follows:

PM 21



After the complementizer 고 has been placed as a daughter of the V under VP_2 and NP_2 has been deleted by the Equi-NP Deletion and V under VP_2 has been moved up to the higher sentence by the Verb Raising, PM 22, roughly the surface structure of (23a), will as usual be obtained.

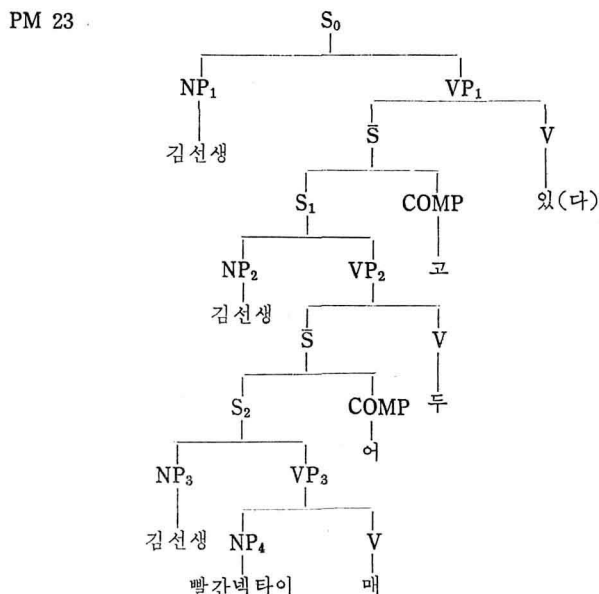
PM 22



Sentence (23b) is ambiguous: in addition to the usual progressive meaning, it may have another reading which does not involve a progressive aspect interpretation. Thus you may say (23b) in the latter sense to describe Mr. Kim's attire rather than to describe what Mr. Kim is doing. So the second reading should be derived from a different source from the one that is similar to PM 21, which is the deep structure of (23b) in its first reading, i.e., the progressive aspect reading. What is the source of the second reading? I would suspect that non-progressive meaning may come from the verb $\text{두}(다)$ which may have been deleted in (23b) by some transformation. So it might be the case that (23b) has been derived from a deep structure which also underlies (25).

(25) 김 선생이 빨간 넥타이를 매어 두고 있다.

The verb *두* is the same type of verb as the verbs we discussed in Subsection 5.1; it requires a sentential complement and the complementizer is *어/아*. Accordingly, we might give the deep structure representation to the non-progressive reading of (23b) as follows: (PM 23).



No new transformations would be needed: the Complementizer Placement, the Equi-NP Deletion and the Verb Raising would convert PM 23 into the surface structure of (23b) (But the complementizer *어* and the verb *두* must be deleted.). As I implied, however, I do not present PM 23 as the correct deep structure of (23b) in its non-progressive reading; I merely hope that PM 23 may serve as a tentative starting point toward it. Further research will either justify or falsify it to come up with a better solution.

The progressive aspect we noted in sentences like (23a and b) is especially interesting because it enables us to present an argument against the transformational hypothesis regarding complementizers and naturally for the phrase structure hypothesis. Recall that, in Subsection 5.2, we had a sentence whose main verb is *있* as in the case of (23), i.e., sentence (12c) (*산이 우뚝 솟아 있다*). Note, however, that the complementizer is *아* in that case unlike (23). This means that the verb *있* may take either *아* or *고*. But whether *아* is chosen or *고* results in two semantically different sentences: the progressive aspect is present in (23) in which case *고* has been chosen, while no such aspect is present in (12c) in which case *고* has been chosen. In a sentence like (12c), the verb

describes, in collaboration with the verb of its complement sentence, a state resulted from a certain action. For example, in (12c) the state of the mountain's *being high* has resulted from the action of its *rising*. This is quite different from the progressive aspect, which refers to a continuous action rather than an ended action. Let us call such a semantic property "Resultative" as opposed to Progressive.¹⁷ Examine the following minimal pair of sentences to see more clearly how the difference in complementizer brings about the two different semantic aspects:

(26) (a) 김 선생이 오아(와) 있다.

(b) 김 선생이 오코 있다.

The only difference between the two sentences lies in the complementizer. That difference must distinguish one aspect from another: the resultative aspect is due to the complementizer 아 and the progressive aspect is due to the complementizer 코. Obviously, the two complementizers, 아 and 코, are not meaning-preserving. This fact, therefore, invalidates the transformational hypothesis which is based on the meaning-preserving of complementizers. On the other hand, it is naturally accommodated within the phrase-structure hypothesis under which the meaning-changing complementizers are generated in deep structure instead of being introduced by transformation.

Let us, now, consider the sentences in (24), which are particularly interesting for some reasons. First they are very similar to subjective verb sentences in that they are a kind of double subject construction and only the first person pronoun may be the first subject and that there are nonstative versions for them in which the verb 하 appears (See sentence (28)). We attempt to take account of these facts and the possible relations between them. First of all, consider the following non-sentences:

(27) * $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{네가} \\ \text{김 선생이} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \text{이 책} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{을} \\ \text{이} \end{array} \right\} \text{보고 싶다}$

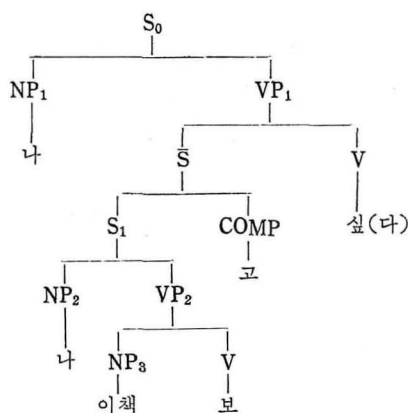
These sentences are ungrammatical simply because their subjects are not first person. In this regard, the sentences in (24) behave very much like subjective verb sentences, not to mention the fact that the subject marker may occur with the second noun (i.e., 나는 이 책이 보고 싶다, which will be referred to as (24a)). Also, the meaning of the main verb 싶 appears to have something in common with subjective verbs (e.g.,

¹⁷ The term 'resultative' is due to W. Chafe (1970).

좋다, 싫다. 지겹다. 등). Furthermore, the sentences in (27) would be grammatical if they were put in the past tense (i.e., 김 선생이 책이 보고 싶었다), or in the conjecture aspect (i.e., 김 선생이 책이 보고 싶겠다). This fact may also suggest that the sentences in (24) are subjective verb sentences.

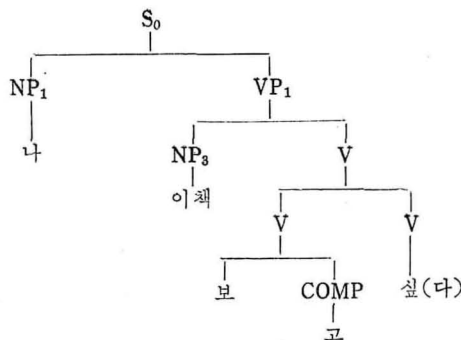
However, all these seeming indications conflict with the fact that the object marker occurs with the second noun. As far as the syntactic structures of (24a and b) are concerned, they are definitely similar to (23) and, for that matter, to all the other sentences of verb complementation except the subjective verb sentences. Ignoring the subject marker for the moment, thus, we may represent the deep structure of (24a) as usual in the following manner:

PM 24



The complementizer 고 will be lowered after the V dominated by VP₂ by the Complementizer Placement, NP₂ will be deleted by the Equi-NP Deletion, and V under VP₂ will be raised to the main sentence by the Verb Raising. The result of these transformational operations is PM 25.

PM 25



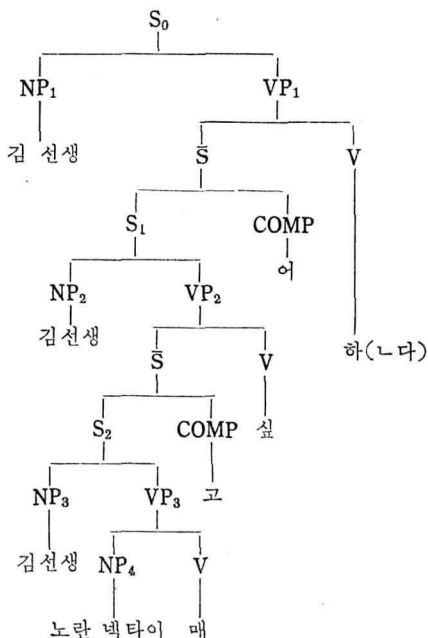
We stated that there exist nonstative counterparts of the sentences in (24), in which the verb *하* occurs. It is predicted that the constraint that only the first person pronoun may be the subject is relaxed in the nonstative counterparts of the sentences as in previous cases (See Section 3). The following sentences show that it is indeed the case:

- (28) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) 나는} \\ \text{(b) 너는} \\ \text{(c) 김 선생은} \end{array} \right\} \text{노란 넥타이} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{를} \\ \text{*가} \end{array} \right\} \text{매고 싶어 한다.}$

But note that the subject marker cannot occur in this case. We will take this matter up shortly.

As before, we may assume that the verb *하* is the main verb and that it is complemented by an embedded sentence. In (28c), for example, 김 선생은 노란 넥타이를 매고 싶어 will then be the embedded sentence. But this embedded sentence also contains as its main verb a verb which requires a sentential complement, i.e., the verb *싶*. It will be the case, therefore, that two sentential complements are embedded in the deep structure of (28c), though not at the same level. Thus we may represent it as PM 26.

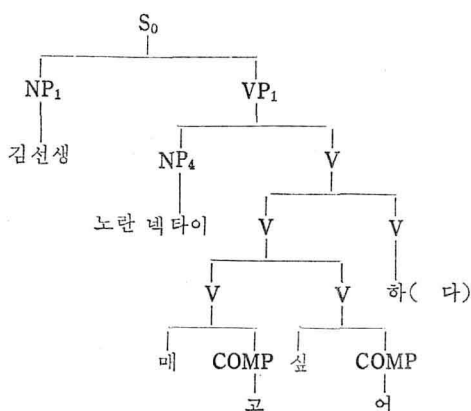
PM 26



The Subject Identity Condition is met (i. e., $NP_1=NP_2=NP_3$). The main verb is *하* and the main verb of its complement sentence is *싶* which in turn requires a sentential complement, that is, S_2 , whose main verb is *매*. As we already know, *하* requires the

complementizer *어* and the verb *싶* requires *코*. Thus in the second cycle, i.e., the \dot{S}_1 cycle, the Complementizer Placement places *코* to the right of the V dominated by VP_3 as its sister and then the Equi-NP Deletion deletes NP_3 and finally the Verb Raising moves the V under VP_3 up to a new V node created between VP_2 and V. In the third cycle, the same three transformations are applied. The complementizer *어* is placed directly after the V dominated by VP_2 , and NP_2 is deleted, and then the new V is raised to the main sentence. The output of these transformational operations is PM 27.

PM 27

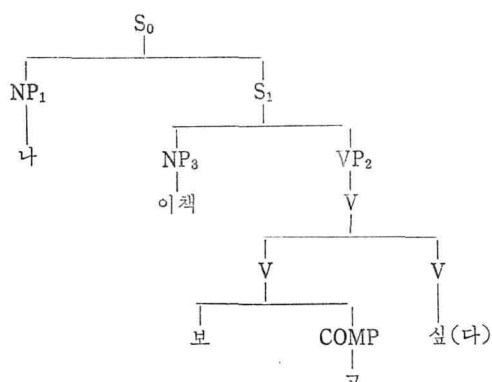


Thus far we have ignored the occurrence of the subject marker in (24). Now we consider why it occurs in such sentences. I propose two alternative answers to the question: a transformational approach and an analogical approach. Unfortunately, neither approach seems to be perfectly satisfactory, and yet I will try to show that there is reason to choose the analogical approach over the transformational approach. Lee (1970) has suggested a solution to the problem, but I will point out why I believe it is untenable.

First, the transformational approach. Since there is no meaning difference between the two cases in (24), i.e., the case in which the object marker occurs and the other case in which the subject marker occurs, that is, between (24a) 나는 이 책을 보고 싶다 and 나는 이 책이 보고 싶다, to which we have referred as (24a'). It must be the case, therefore, that if PM 24 is the correct deep structure of (24a) it also underlies (24a'). Different sets of transformations will make the difference. Thus for the derivation of (24a'), two new transformations must be proposed: a Verb Lowering and a kind of NP Rasing. The Verb Lowering operates in exactly the opposite way to the Verb Raising; that is, it lowers a V to a lower sentence while the Verb Raising lifts a V to a higher sentence. If it applies to PM 24, the main verb is moved down to the V under VP_2 . After NP_2

has been deleted as usual by the Equi-NP Deletion, NP₃ has to be moved up to fill its position, i.e., the subject position. This is assumed to be done by a kind of NP Raising. This transformation is not exactly the same as the NP Raising we have used; on the contrary, it is an extremely unusual kind of transformation. For the usual NP Raising moves up a NP to a *higher* sentence whereas the transformation in question operates within the scope of a sentence: it simply moves an object NP to the subject position in the same sentence. It is certainly an *ad hoc* rule. Since such a sentence as (24a') may be said to be 'irregular', however, such an *ad hoc* rule may be inevitable. In any event, the two newly introduced transformations, the Equi-NP Deletion and the Complementizer Placement will be able to convert PM 24 into PM 28 below, which may serve to account for the occurrence of the subject marker following 이책 in (24a'). Note that NP₃ is now in the subject position.

PM 28



Secondly, the analogical approach: What this approach suggests is that such a sentence as (24a') may have been developed from (24a) *by analogy*. That is, it may be assumed that only the object marker was possible in such a sentence and that a grammatical modification was made so that the subject marker might also occur in accordance with the pattern of a sentence structure that had existed, i.e., the structure of subjective verb sentence. Such an analogical change may become quite feasible when we notice a striking semantic similarity between subjective verbs and the form Verb Stem+고싶: both are stative and allow only the first person pronoun as their subject in the present tense. No other verbs have this semantic peculiarity. Thus (24a') may have been made possible through the following processes:

(29) (a) (나는) SUBJECT (이 책이) SUBJECT (좋 다) VERB

(b) (나는) SUBJECT (이 책이) SUBJECT (지 겠 다) VERB

(c) (나는) SUBJECT (이책 X)_X (보고 싶다) VERB

Take another example:

(30) (a) (나는) SUBJECT (그 여자가) SUBJECT (좋 다) VERB

(b) (나는) SUBJECT (그 여자가) SUBJECT (그 립 다) VERB

(c) (나는) SUBJECT (그 여자 X)_X (보고 싶다) VERB

It may be that X in such sentences as (29c) and (30c) was filled by the subject marker in accordance with subjective verb sentence patterns exemplified by (29a) and (29b). Interestingly, (30b) and (30c) are virtually synonymous. It may be an historical accident that the synonymy has now matched the syntatic similarity.

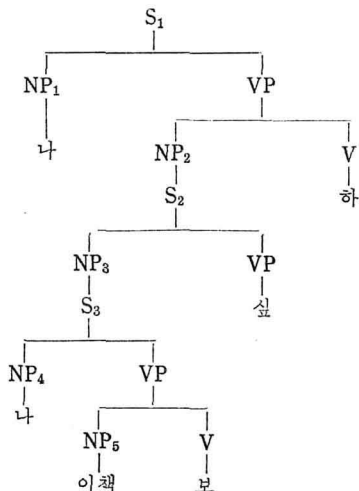
Needless to say, the analogical approach is an historical explanation, and for this reason it may be rejected in the synchronic study of a language such as the present one. Yet those who reject the historical explanation of a kind of irregularity would have to bear with an *ad hoc* synchronic explanation such as the transformational approach. As I pointed out, however, the transformational approach is questionable as long as the process of NP Raising employed there remains extremely strange and unusual. If it is found in the future that such a transformation is syntactically motivated on certain other independent grounds, then the transformational approach will be revalued and strongly supported. Until then we may have to bear with the analogical approach although we are at present unable to present any historical evidence to support it.¹⁸

Finally, we will give a comment on Lee's proposal. According to this proposal, the deep structure of (24a) would be represented as PM 29 (ignoring the Declarative Performative) (Lee 1970:49-65).

There appear to be three questionable matters in PM 29. First, the appearance of the verb *하* is unfounded. According to this proposal, the verb *하* is to be deleted under these

¹⁸ A third alternative might be proposed. It may be assumed that the change of Subject Marker from Object Marker is due to a rather general 'Marker Shift,' an interchange among Subject, Object and Topic Markers. Thus (24a') may simply be assumed to be derived from (24a) by a Marker Shift Transformation which changes Object Marker into Subject Marker. But such a transformation would not be meaning-preserving because a change from one marker to another results in a change in Topic, Focus, Presupposition and the like. Much research is yet to be done to motivate such a transformation. If it will prove well-motivated, it will not only shed light to the study of ever-puzzling problems concerning Marker shifts; it will be of much theoretical interest because it may point to a case where surface structures can contribute to meaning, thereby supporting the position of 'interpretive semantics.'

PM 29



circumstances. Why does an element that is always deleted have to appear in the deep structure? Lee answers us that it is necessarily postulated to exist in the deep structure of (24a) in order to take account of the alleged synonymy between subjective verb sentences (in our terms) and their 하 counterparts. But we have pointed out that there exists no such synonymy in the first place. There is no reason to posit the verb 하 in the deep structure of (24a).

Secondly, the NP_2 node is superfluous, not to mention NP_3 . By postulating NP_2 , Lee seems to imply that the verb 하 in this case is a two-place predicate or a transitive verb. But there is no evidence to support this implication (He has presented no argument for it.).

Third, and most importantly, what is asserted by the configuration of S_2 is semantically unfounded (or counterintuitive). It seems incorrect to argue that the embedded S_3 (내가 이 책을 보) is the subject of S_2 whose main verb is 싶 . The Subject of a sentence whose main verb is 싶 must be 'human' or at least 'animate' (or perhaps a certain inanimate noun under certain unusual circumstances one might imagine), but by no means a sentence. How could possibly a sentence 'want' something? There seems to be no semantic or syntactic evidence to support what is asserted in PM 29. The only reason to suggest such a structural configuration seems to be the fact that the second NP of (24a) co-occurs optionally with a subject marker. For Lee seems to claim that that fact is explainable only if S_3 is in the subject position. That is, when the NP Raising applies in the S_2 cycle, there are two NP's to be raised, NP_4 and NP_5 . Thus, if NP_4 is raised to the left of S_2 and subsequently deleted by the Equi-NP Deletion, NP_5 will end up with the object

marker and, on the other hand, if NP₅ is raised to the left of S₂, it will eventually take the subject marker because it will have taken the subject position (The VP of S₃ will be raised as usual, and both NP₃ and NP₄ deleted.).

Even if these transformations are granted, however, the question remains whether it is permitted to construct a semantically unfounded deep structure such as PM 29 for the sole purpose of accounting for a surface structure phenomenon such as the occurrence of the subject marker in (24a') (Lee himself has argued, and I agree, that the occurrences of the subject and object markers are within the domain of surface structure.). I think that it is a mistake to modify the deep structure rather than the transformational component in order to account for the occurrence of a subject marker.

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